1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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balians usada, Balinese doctors possessing books on botany and medicine (*usada*).[11] In this connection mention may also be made of the prohibitions against buying the meat of animals that have died and against the use of opium.

As was said, the Tĕngananese do not farm their lands themselves. *Sawahs*, gardens, and coconut groves are almost all operated by so-called *pĕnyakaps* as sharecroppers. An exception is the *kayu naung*, which yields palm wine: a large share of the Tĕngananese occupy themselves with producing this wine. However, they must leave the making of sugar or spirits from it to persons from outside the village, since that is prohibited members of the *desa*. The consumption of palm wine is high. Mention should also be made of the production of oil from candle-nuts for household consumption and for dyeing yarns. The characteristic oil presses are to be seen standing along the main streets.

The wives and daughters of the *desa* members are forbidden to do any trading. Even day-to-day purchases at the *pasar* they have to leave to people who are not (or no longer) eligible for *desa* membership.

As regards livestock, there are various regulations restricting the keeping of cattle. No cows are allowed inside the residential *desa* (though they are permitted in the gardens), and members of the *desa* may not take care of them. On the other hand the consumption of beef is not prohibited. Buffaloes are owned only by the *desa* as a whole: they are used exclusively as offering animals, and their dung serves as medicine. Horseback riding is forbidden inside the *desa*. Every woman who is a member of the *desa* raises pigs, but the keeping of boars is a privilege of the *pasĕk*, who derives certain advantages from it. Pigs may only be sold to other members of the *desa* with the knowledge of the *desa* association. Only sick and mangy animals are permitted to be sold to the Chinese pigdealers, likewise with the consent of the *desa*. Almost all types of livestock are of importance primarily as offering animals. During the *usaba* in the fifth month (Kalima) of the Tĕngananese calendar, no less than fifty pigs are offered. Poultry are among the smaller offerings.

2: Covarrubias | R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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434 were always busy in the ricefields, but rice cannot be considered
511 an important source of cash income. The Balinese grow rice for
[243] personal consumption and for offerings, selling only what is left over from the second planting, which they regard as unfit for offerings to the gods.

434 Their main source of income is in the sale of cattle and pigs,
443 and of coconuts for making copra; a second source is from coffee,
463 rice, and tobacco which they sell for export to Chinese middlemen. The trades and crafts are incidental sources of income and in the markets one may see people selling pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth, together with the vendors of vegetables, dried fish, spices, and flowers. Some craftsmen, such as the gold- and silverworkers, the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers of palm, and pottery-makers, have regular incomes, but they remain independent artisans. The Balinese men work for wages only spasmodically and as an adventure. In the larger towns they engage as chauffeurs, clerks, and servants — positions which are regarded as superior. With the affluence of tourists, some now derive an income from the sale of sculptures, paintings, silverwork, weavings, and so forth.

[461]

Ruled by the principle of live and let live, landowners allow
465 others without land to share their crop in exchange for help. There are, however, organizations of labourers (*seka medjukut*) who work the earth for a communal wage. They are paid by time recorded by water-clocks (*gandji*) similar to those used in cock-
[405] fights: a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, placed in a basin of water, the time it takes to sink being the measure. The fees are arranged by the head of the group.

178 At the present time, however, the economic balance has, tem-
511 porarily at least, ceased to exist. With taxes and imported commodities on the increase, and the price of Balinese products for export at rock-bottom levels, the whole population has come to find itself in need of cash, not in *kepengs* (Chinese cash valued at a fraction of a cent with which they buy the daily necessities), but in Dutch guilders worth from five hundred to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system, but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three highest castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may, however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste. Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheritance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted, went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase